

KARMANDALA SATAKAM: POLITICO-SOCIO-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF MEDIEVAL TAMIL LITERATURE ON THE VELLALA COMMUNITY OF SOUTH KARNATAKA

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Karmandala satakam is a Tamil literary work that belongs to the medieval times. It comprises of hundred verses which sheds perceptible light on the events pertaining to Southern Karnataka.

Satakam in any Indian language usually refers to a book of one hundred poems. Kannada literature has Satakams from the twelfth century, while in Telugu they were written from the 13th century. In classical Telugu literature Satakams were explicitly meant to appeal to the common man directly. It was more of peoples' literature as opposed to scholastic, regal or court literature.¹

In Tamil literature Satakam as a technique became a popular way of writing in the 18th century though the earliest attempt was made with the writing of *Karmandala satakam*. Like any satakam it is didactic in nature but unlike, the later Tamil satakams which are descriptive and were written to eulogize some or other dynasty in power, or the ruling class or the rich elite, or about some protecting deity, *Karmandala satakam* makes an interesting study of the contemporary social and cultural structures. It is more factual to a large extent, and differs from the normal trend as it discusses more about a community.

The work seems to have been written by a person belonging to the Vellala² origin, although the author hardly gives any biographical account, except stating his name as Arai Kilar, one who was a Adi Saiva and Kongu Vellala. The name Arai Kilar looks more to be a title than a name since, Kilar means Great Man, which is a title of the Vellalas.

The book under consideration was edited in Tamil by P.A. Muthu Thandavaraya Pillai in 1936.³ Recently, one Thirumalai Pungunran has republished this work in Tamil in 2003,⁴ along with editorial notes and annotations. However, the latest edition like the earlier one analyses the work as a stand-alone literary work and does not contextualize it into the historical and sociological setting.

Karmandala satakam is one of the lesser known works in Tamil. Significantly, this important historical source has not received the

attention of the historians from both Tamilnadu and Karnataka for reasons not known. The present paper attempts to fill that void and seeks to contextualize the work and to highlight important contents by making a textual criticism that could throw light on harmoniously co-existing cross-cultures.

Before going to the textual criticism, it would be worthwhile to historically place the work under consideration. By referring to the conquest of Southern Karnataka by Imperial Chola ruler Rajaraja I, *Karmandala Satakam* places itself after 1004 A.D. But the mention of the later rulers of the Chola-Ganga line makes one put the date of this work around the middle of the eleventh century. Equally important is the mention of Madhavaguru – a term perhaps could be the Tamilized version of either Madhvacharya (1238-1317 AD), who was born in Udipi or Madhava Tirtha, the third Acharya of the same Madhvacharya Mutt and a contemporary of Harihara and Bukka, the founders of Vijayanagara dynasty or the venerated Advaita saint Madhava Vidhyaranya, a contemporary of Harihara and Bukka. But it should be noted that while this work frequently refers to historical figures, especially of the ruling dynasties of the south, is remarkably silent over the Vijayanagara rulers. In fact, it mentions all ruling dynasties of the region up till the advent of the Vijayanagara dynasty (1346 AD); hence, it would not be wrong to surmise that this work must have been composed during or immediately after the time of Madhvacharya and prior to the advent of Vijayanagara Empire. In which case, it can safely be placed during the rule of Hoysala Vira Ballala III (1292-1342 A.D.).

The language of *Karmandala satakam* is lucid and simple which perhaps reflects the literary style of the day. It gives detailed information about the life of the Vellala community. It is important to note that Vellala being a generic term was used for communities practicing agriculture and trade.⁵ According to the author, about eighteen sub-caste groups were denoted by this term. Some of the information, mentioned in the work, such as the major political events of Southern Karnataka that happened from the tenth century A.D. can be corroborated through the contemporary inscriptions. Much of the information pertaining to socio-cultural practices of the Tamilians of that period confirms what is known through the contemporary literature.

So far as the format of this text is concerned, this work does not go against the established tradition of the time, where the work begins with an invocation or prayer to popular deities of the day such as Harihar, Uma Parameshwar, Lakshminarayan, Saraswati Manohar (Brahma) and after revering those who mediate on Almighty, it reveres those who practice worship according to Vedas and Agamas and

Madhava Guru, the spiritual leader of the community.

The first verse topographically defines *Karmandalam* as an area which is 'both a plateau and a hilly region, bordered by Kudagu hills (Coorg) in the west, the Pallava and Kadamba countries in the north, the Bana country in the east and Kongu country in the south'. Very clearly it talks about the Southern Karnataka region comprising of Modern Mysore district with some places from the adjoining districts.⁶ 'The hills of that region are the Kudagu hills, Tiruveraga or Pushpagiri hills and Nandi hills'.⁷ 'The river Kaveri flows through this region'.⁸

In the concluding part of the work, the uniqueness of this region is illustrated, which could appropriately be discussed here. While the geography of the region is being described:

'*Karmandalam* region has fertile soil and water, rich in herbs and minerals. This region has three kinds of water resources — rain water and rivers, stored water through channels and ponds, besides underground water through wells'.⁹

According to the work:

'the area was divided into thirty-two *valanadus*',¹⁰ or revenue units introduced during the time of the Cholas, though the inscriptions of Southern Karnataka on the other hand support the existence of only five *valanadus*. These *valanadus* had river tributaries as their boundaries. It has been suggested that they were introduced with the purpose of integrating the territories of the older chieftaincies into the growing Chola kingdom.¹¹

'Tagadur (Krishnagiri in North Tamil Nadu) was one of the important cities of *Karmandalam* and it had both the city and a suburb. Brahmins and the people of different caste groups lived separate localities here'.¹² 'Each social group used and wore a particular flower to denote their caste group. While Brahmins used Lotus, the Chera kings used palm flower, the Cholas used Fig flower as their symbol and *Karkathar*, or the agriculturists in general and the Vellalas of *Karmandalam* used Lilly as their flower'¹³ and 'they used Nandi or bull as logo in their flag'.¹⁴ 'News was disseminated in their respective localities through beating of drums in the city'.¹⁵ 'Their professions included agriculture, trading in agricultural produce and taking them to different countries through ships'.¹⁶ Wearing flowers in accordance with one's standing in society and also during the time of war to indicate one's mood was a practice mentioned in Tamil Sangam literature of circa 1st century.¹⁷ Similar such practice is mentioned in this work too.

Vellalas held eight kind of positions, they were: Being a King, a Prince, Kosar (one who served the temple), Puravalar (Thambiranmar, Teacher), Tirumaligai Tevar (one who lived in palace), Bandaratar

(cashier), Athuvasikar (performer of rituals), Samantar (Minister or general)'.¹⁸ 'They traded with both agricultural produce and handicrafts and exported them to other parts of the world'.¹⁹

'The eighteen groups of Vellalas who ruled Karmanadalam were Haihayas, Kadambas, Nulambas, Vaidhumbas, Dhandakas, Satavahanas, Kalachuris, Pallavas, Andras, Kunthalas, Dhayanaras, Yadhavas, Hoysalas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Banas, Moryas, Thondayars'.

While most of the rulers can be identified, some of their history of ruling this region is not recorded. While in this, the rule of Kadamba, Nulamba, Vaidhumba, Pallava, Andra, Hoysala, Rashtrakuta, Chalukya, Bana, Moryas and Thondayars are substantiated by epigraphs and literature, the rule of other ruling dynasties are not substantiated by either. It is also interesting to note that Vijayanagara rulers are conspicuous by their absence in this list.

'The Vellalas of Karmandalam belonged to the clan of the Gangas: they were both Srotriyas; practitioners of Vedic rites or Southerners or Virathiyars or people who were followers of either Buddhism or Jainism or Northerners'.²⁰ 'The Gangas belonged to both Suryavamsa and Somavamsa and they had matrimonial alliances with other kings'.²¹

About the mythical origin of the Karkatha Vellalas three legends are given; The work connects the origin of the Gangas to the origin of the Karakatha Vellalas of Southern Karnataka.

Gangeya Murthaka pala was born to Lord Shiva and he had two wives; the first wife had fifty four sons and the second wife had fifty two sons. Out of these Bhupalar, (one who practiced Agriculture) gave birth to thirty five Vellala leaders, Dhanapalar, who was into trade gave birth to thirty five Vellala leaders Gopalar, (one who herded cattle) and one Agamurthi gave birth to one Vellala leader'.²² Interestingly, this legend is dealt with in certain detail by Edgar Thurston in his seminal work – *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, in which he discusses about Vellala community of Tamilnadu.²³

The second legend describes that:

'There was a ruler called Dhananjaya and his queen was Gandhari, their son was Harishchandra and their son was Bharata who was married to Madhevi. Gangadattan was born to them and the Vellalas of Karmandalam belonged to their clan. Son of Gangadattan was Vishnugupta and his son was Bagadatta, who ruled the region around the river Ganges. Bagadatta's brother was Sidatta and he was said to have ruled both Kalinga and Karmandalam'.²⁴ Some Western Ganga inscriptions of the later date make a mention of this legend.

The third legend talks about the famous rulers of the Ganga dynasty as 'Priyabandhu and his son was Kamban and his son was Padmnabhan and his son was Madhavan. A ruler by name Datigan was ruling Karmandalam before from Skandhapuram, He was very powerful and he established the city of Talakkad and changed his capital there'.²⁵

The work talks about the origin of the Ganga dynasty. It says that

'A ruler called Gunarnavan established a city called Kolala (Kualala or Kolar) and ruled from there. During his time the Saiva saints used to mediate in the Mahendra hills. The rulers of Karmandalam spread their rule to Kalinga and they visited the temple of Gokarna with their queens'.²⁶ 'The Vellalas of Karmandalam made pilgrimage to other Saiva temples in Srisailam²⁷ and Sivasamudhiram'.²⁸ 'The rules of Manu were followed here and the Vellalas were the followers of Vedas and Agamas'.²⁹ They also followed the patriarchic system of succession'.³⁰

The work also talks about the administrative terms that were used to describe the Southern Karnataka in those days:

'The region of Southern Karnataka surrounding Mysore was called Gangapadi or Gangavadi or Mahishasuramandalam, Karunataka desam or Mummadi Chola Mandalam'.³¹

Gangapadi was the name of the region during the time of Western Gangas, when; the Cholas conquered Southern Karnataka, the term Gangapadi had a defined meaning. After Hoysalas' conquest of this region, they started loosely using the term Gangapadi without much respecting the territorial divisions of the previous regime. Also, during Chola times, Gangapadi was renamed as Mudikonda Chola Mandalam and not Mummadi Chola Mandalam.³²

The Work gives reasons for the success of the Imperial Chola conquest in Southern Karnataka:

'Since, Rajaraja I, the Chola Emperor was a popular ruler and was a follower of Saivism, the Vellalas of Karmandalam decided to invite him to be the ruler of their region. However, those who did not know this truth always repeated that Rajaraja conquered the region'.³³

Perhaps this statement could be partially true. Since Rajaraja I waged a successful war against Southern Karnataka, the merchants of this region must have supported him as against the last Ganga ruler in return for trade privileges.

While talking about the Chola ruler Rajendra I, the work says that:

'Rajendra I, the son of Rajaraja, took the title *Gangaikondan* (Conqueror of Ganges). As a result many scholars have opined that since he conquered the Vellalas of Karmandalam or Gangapadi he

must have received the title, but the truth is to protect Saivism from the onslaught of other religions the Vellalas accepted him as their ruler'.³⁴

This surmise is untrue, Rajendra I, the son of Rajaraja I stayed in Southern Karnataka for about sixteen years, before his accession and had it firmly under his control. Also, he took the title 'Gangaikondan' after his hurried raid to the kingdom of Mahipala in Bengal in 1022 A.D.³⁵

The work does not follow the pattern of stating the political and socio-economic aspects in an order. Each verse talks about one of the above aspects. In the following verses it talks about various socio-cultural aspects of the community. 'The people of Karmandalam were well versed in Vedas and Agamas and related Sastras and Puranas'.³⁶

'Also, they were well versed in Grammar and also in Agamas, the science of Architecture'.³⁷

'The Vellalas of Karmandalam belonged to Manava gotra and practiced the rite of upnayana or wearing the sacred thread'.³⁸

The religious preference of the Vellalas of Southern Karnataka are described as thus:

'Both Saivism and Vaishnavism flourished in Karmandalam. Many gods were one horned Vinayaka, Lord Shiva, Umadevi, Ganga, Murugan (Lord Karthikeya), Bhairav, Virabhabhadra, Aiyanar (Guardian deity), Manmatha (God of Love), Vishnu, Lakshmi, Brahma and Saraswati, but the most popularly worshiped God was Vinayaka'.³⁹

Though many of these worships are still prevalent in those localities, worship of Ganga, Brahma and Manmata are uncommon in the present times, as also is the worship of one horned Vinayaka a rarity.

'Vellalas of Karmandalam followed the philosophy avowed by Tirumular'.⁴⁰

'The Vellalas of Karmandalam organized and managed the conduct of daily rituals and poojas on special occasions in both Siva and Vishnu temples and in the residential areas of Brahmins'.⁴¹

The work suggests that the Tamil agrarian community conducted poojas in the Brahmin residential areas. This is surprising considering that the general practice is always Brahmins officiating poojas on special occasions for many communities and not the other way around.

The text under review states that:

'The Vellalas built resting places for travelers, poor were fed at specially designated places, dug tanks and water resources and also

patronized mathas (mutts) propagating Saivism and Vaishnavism and also established chaturvedimangalams'.⁴²

'The Vellalas built colleges and temples in many important cities of that time from Karmandalam in north to as south as Madurai including in cities like Kanchi, Chidambaram, Srirangam, Vallam etc.'. ⁴³

The practice seemed to have been nothing unusual considering both Tamil and Kannada inscriptions of Cholas and the Hoysalas talk about well known merchants and others establishing colleges, mathas and also getting involved in social service.⁴⁴

'The Vellalas also established Mathas at Melayur, Vellaikulam, Velur, Velur (Belur?) Nandimalai (Nandi Hills), Tirusailam (Srisailam), Vimalagiri, Palaiyur Sringeri etc., in these mathas they made arrangements to research on various languages and also made efforts to develop Tamil language'.⁴⁵

Interestingly, Kannada inscriptions of the Hoysalas talk about Dramila Sanghas or Tamil Associations being established in various regions of Southern Karnataka repeatedly.⁴⁶ So, the claim couldn't have been an exaggeration.

The work talks about the origin of language and various language associations were established and run in Southern Karnataka.

'Language which was the gift of God became two, and later became eighteen. There were many Sanghas established but they later got divided into many Ganas, this further got divided into numerous sabhas. Many languages had such sanghas. In Karmandalam, there were Sanghas for Dravida (Dramila or Tamil), Andhram (Telugu), Kannada and Kalinga (Oriya), and they were further divided into three sanghas in each group (Dance, Drama & Poetry), Muthirayars, who were one of the ancient tribes, were into compiling works and running such sanghas'.⁴⁷

Muthirayars were a ruling in Tamilnadu before the ascendancy of the Cholas in the 9th century AD and who were defeated by the imperial cholas around the same time. It is noteworthy that this tribe moved to Southern Karnataka and was into establishing and administering language association there.

'The famous Saiva and Vaishnava Saints such as Nambiyandar Nambi a contemporary of Rajaraja I, the Chola ruler, Nammalvar, the contemporary of Ramanujacharya, and Nadhamuni who compiled the Vaishnava work – *Nalayira Divya prabhandam* and whose time cannot be clearly ascertained, as belong to the Vellala Class'.⁴⁸

This has been attested by the Saiva and Vaishnava works of the medieval period. While talking about some of the smaller rulers of

Southern Karnataka the work says that:

'Kosars, who were the kings of this region and who were of charitable disposition belonged to this region'.⁴⁹

Kosars were one of the least researched dynasties that ruled the regions of Kongu (modern Northwestern Tamilnadu) and Karmandalam (southern Karnataka). According to S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Kosars were a well known tribe, alien to the Tamil country, who finally settled in various localities of Tamilnadu and came to be known as Nalur Kosar or the Kosar of four localities.⁵⁰

While talking about the Vellala women the work says that:

'The Vellala women of Karmandalam were married at a very tender age before attaining puberty and were raised by the bridegroom's father, who was usually her maternal uncle. The girl so married was called Tharam, Amongst the Vellalas this was most common practice'.⁵¹

The practice of marrying the son of maternal uncle is still prevalent amongst various communities in Tamilnadu, though the practice of marrying before attaining puberty is largely discontinued. The practice must have started due to two reasons: to retain wealth within the family and the girl so married would acclimatize herself well to her marital home and also partly due to constant warfare that society faced, even if the girl's father died she could settle into matrimony without much difficulty.

According to the work:

'the girls normally underwent a special ceremony called "tiruvilakidu" after attaining seven years of age, in which their maternal uncle tied a thread around their neck probably before taking them into their house'.⁵² Since, the girls were married according to this practice, they neither worshipped Chandra or moon or Manmatha, the God of Love'.⁵³

Mythologically, both moon and god of love are believed to be instrumental in bringing out the passionate nature of people. Since, the Vellala girls entered into an arrangement wedding during childhood, the worship of these gods were perhaps, not encouraged.

While talking about the Vellala women's dressing style and their past time, the work says that:

'Women normally wore embroidered cotton and silk dresses. To enhance their beauty they applied verities of perfumed pastes as well'.⁵⁴ 'They either spent their leisure time in the garden or on the banks of the river'.⁵⁵

The information given about women generally appears to suit role assigned for women as set out by men. The orthodoxy of the medieval

agrarian community would not have appreciated the individuality of women and would have tolerated human frailties even less. It makes one wonder what these women were actually like. What else did they do apart from cooking home, making garlands and praying to God regularly? It is difficult to bring out the real woman from the image that's portrayed by medieval literature; inscriptions of the same period too do not help in this matter. Woman was normally described in contemporary inscriptions as thus:

'A virtuous wife, endowed with the grace of handsome form and pure character, multitude of good qualities of the three worlds having reached at one place, settled in the shape of an auspicious lady, the abode of graceful charm...'⁵⁶

While talking about the social life and the social and religious rights enjoyed by the Vellala community, the work says that:

'In the vast expanse of Marudham tract (agricultural tract) Vellalas built their mansions next to the palace of the kings in accordance with the rules laid out in shilpasastras.⁵⁷ They had the right to take part and organize Vedic rites performed by Chaturvedi Brahmins, rites performed according to the tenets of their sects, rites pertaining to each caste and the rites performed to appease the planets'.⁵⁸

'Vellalas were good at singing and playing instruments such as Veena and yazh (another multi-stringed instrument, now no longer being played).⁵⁹ They were skilled in trade and commerce; they paid their employees according to their expertise and efficiency, they practiced both barter system as well minting coins and making standard weights and measures, also they were good at preparing almanac'.⁶⁰

While starting from Kulothunga Chola's time, the merchant groups in Southern Karnataka started maintaining private armies for their protection and had many trade privileges, it is not explicitly evident whether they minted coins, though currencies issued by local chieftains were in circulation during this period.⁶¹

'The Vellalas were of pleasing disposition, of kind words, always kept their promises and did good to the society, and were very hospitable.⁶²

'They were supportive to anyone who were friendly with them, opposed anyone who had enmity with them, they administered and protected the country where in they and even those places that were beyond'.⁶³

'The Vellalas of Karmandalam would live with their friends and relatives in all prosperity and would add prosperity to this earth, Let them feel proud! Feel encouraged! Be the beneficiaries of all prosperity in Karmandalam. Long live Vellalas of Karmandalam! Long live the

clan of the Gangas!'⁶⁴

The seemingly innocuous statements made reflect a certain uncertainty in social status and insecurity amongst the Tamil Vellala community. If the work is contemporaneous to Madhvacharya, then it must roughly coincide with the rule of Hoysala Vira Ballala III, in whose time the Kannada chieftains of the ruler were posted in the Tamil dominated areas of Southern Karnataka and these chieftains started asserting control over the region and a steady process of spreading Kannada culture and language started in all walks of life. This must have made the migrant Tamil community very insecure and the Tamil Vellala community which had been living in the region since, long time must have felt the need to assert their right and primacy over the region.⁶⁵

An in-depth study of the work- *Karmandala satakam* and a corroborative study of the events that unfolded in Southern Karnataka in the 13th and the 14th century makes one surmise that the work must have been written by one of the respected members of the Tamil Vellala community with certain literary and poetical skill capable enough to depict the Historical and Sociological background and the moral high ground to their preeminent position in the society and with an inherent and sublime desire that people of other communities understand their greatness in proper perspective.

It was a time period when after centuries of occupation and competing claims of sovereignty, Chola suzerainty had altogether disappeared in Southern Karnataka. The political conquest of Southern Karnataka which started during the time of Rajaraja I ended when Chola Kulothunga I was defeated by Hoysala ruler Vishnuvardhana in 1116 A.D. but the region continued to be dominated by Tamils who switched their allegiance back and forth to the Cholas and the Hoysalas. The region remained disturbed politically and the Tamil Vellala community had a preeminent position there for a very long time. But in the 13th century, after conquering these regions firmly, the Hoysala ruler Vira Ballala III placed this region under the administrative control of two of his Kannada generals Dadi Singeya Dannayaka and Madhavayya. These two generals started the process of assimilating the linguistic minorities into the mainstream Kannada culture and language. More prominence was given to Kannada speaking population than Tamil population. It is from this time onwards the Tamil inscriptions become very rare in the region. Significantly, it was also a time when Kannada cultural supremacy was established not only in Karnataka but also in northern parts of Tamilnadu under the leadership of the Hoysalas.⁶⁶

It was a time when new administrative and economic patterns emerged and old privileges and leaderships were questioned, the work *Karmandala satakam* in hundred verses was an attempt to justify the presence and preeminence of Tamil Vellalas in Southern Karnataka. It is interesting to note that the Vellala community which was predominantly an agricultural and trading community had claimed the roles of all the three upper castes namely the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas to emphasize their importance in the society.

There are a few repetitions emphasized in the work, mainly pertaining to their mythical origin, placing themselves to be the sons of the soil, to portray that their religious preferences were in tune with the popular beliefs of the day, their pilgrimage centers – many being within Karnataka, their exalted economic status, their hospitality and services to the society, their general conduct which placed them as the elite of the society, and their contacts with the outside world which was a subtle reminder that they could not be taken lightly. However, one negative side of this work is that it has not honestly discussed or analyzed negative aspects of the Vellala society. Perhaps that was not the intention of the author while composing the work *Karmandala satakam*.

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6. *Itk map of Tamilnadu & Karnataka*.
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12. Op.cit., Verse 11.
13. Verse 12.
14. Verse 16.
15. Verse 15.
16. Verse 23.
17. Manickam A. "*Purananuru: Mulamum uraiyum*" (*Poems and commentary*), verses 271 & 272, Madras, 1990.
18. Verse 19.
19. Verse 23.
20. Verse 31, <http://dictionary.babylon.com/Srotriya>
21. Verse 33.
22. Verse 34.
23. Thurston Edgar, Rangachari K. "Caste and Tribes of Southern India" Volume VII, *Asian Educational Services*, New Delhi, pp.361-5.
24. Op.cit., Verse – 35.
25. Verse 36-7.
26. Verse 39-40.
27. Verse 41, Srisailam is in Kunool district of AP, this has been one of the famous pilgrimage centers since, the days of Satavahanas.
28. Verse 42, Sivasamudram is in Mandya district of Karnataka, which has waterfalls and a number of ancient temples.
29. Verse 43.
30. Verse 44.
31. Verse 45.
32. "Mudikonda Chola Mandalam included Channapatna, Kanakapura, Anekal and part of present Bangalore taluka in Bangalore district, the whole of Mysore, district and Srirangapatna, malvalli, Mandya, Maddur and Pandavapura taluks in Mandya district. Konga Mandala contained Kadur taluk in Chikkamagalur district and probably the Coorg district alongwith Arkalgud in Hassan district" Vijailakshmi Usha R. *Political and Socio-economic Aspects of Karnataka as revealed by Tamil Inscriptions between A.D. 850-1350*, unpublished thesis, University of Bangalore, 1995, pp.85-87.
33. Op.cit., Verse 46.
34. Ibid., Verse 47.
35. Sastri Nilakanta K.A., "*The Colas*", University of Madras, reprinted 1984, pp.206-07.
36. Op.cit., Verse – 49.
37. Ibid., Verse 50.
38. Verse – 52.
39. Verse – 54.
40. Verse – 55, He was a revered Siddha and was the author of the work *Tirumantiram* which consists of three thousand verses on Saiva Siddhanta. He was believed to have lived in the twelfth century A.D.

41. Verse 57.
42. Verse 58.
43. Verse 59.
44. Rice B.L., *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Volume X – CB-19", Mysore, 1894-1905.
45. Op.cit. Verse – 60. In this list it is difficult to identify places such as Melaiyur Vellaikulam, Vimalagiri, Palaiyur etc.
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59. Verse – 97.
60. Verse 98.
61. "Colas", pp.615-617.
62. Verse – 84.
63. Verse 86.
64. Verse – 100.
65. Op.cit., "*Political and Socio-economic aspects of Karnataka....*", p.264.
66. Ibid., pp.165-170.